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LATIN AMERICA



by
**STEPHEN
DUGGAN**

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LATIN AMERICA



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CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Introduction	5
I. The Influence of Geography	6
II. The Historical Background	10
III. Social Institutions	12
IV. Political and Economic Transformation	21
V. Pan Americanism and Anti-Americanism	38
VI. Building the Future	56
Area, Population and Trade of Latin American Countries . .	63
Extent of Latin American Trade	63
Principal Exports of Latin American Countries	64
Selected Bibliography	65



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INTRODUCTION

THE "Good Neighbor" policy inaugurated by President Hoover and emphasized by President Roosevelt has already borne excellent fruit in the development of a deeper spirit of friendliness and good will between the people of the United States and the people of the countries south of the Rio Grande than has existed for many years. Until, however, the peoples of the two regions have a better understanding of each other and of their respective civilizations and cultures, that spirit will not have a firm foundation. This booklet is published in the hope that it may provide for Americans the information essential to a better understanding of the peoples to the south of us.

That information is now the possession of but few in the United States. We lump together all the nations of the immense area south of the Rio Grande under the particular term "Latin America" and thereby diffuse a very erroneous conception. For among these nations there are great differences—differences in geography, in history, in economic resources and in culture. Moreover, there does not exist such a thing as a Latin American attitude toward the rest of the world; the countries to the south of us do not form a unity even in their view of the "Colossus of the North" which is the matter upon which they are most nearly united. The centrifugal and divisive influences within Latin America must, therefore, remain the mental reservation behind any such convenient label, since, with the term in constant use, it

would be pedantic to attempt to supplant it by another. For the same reason, the author does not hesitate to use the term "American" as referring exclusively to the people of the United States.

Since the World War, which disclosed to the peoples of Europe and the United States the growing importance in world economy of the Latin American countries, an increasing literature on Latin America has appeared. Most of the books written in recent years by citizens of the United States have emphasized the importance of Latin America from a business standpoint, as a source of raw materials, a market for our manufacturers, and a region for the investment of our surplus capital. Although the present survey does not neglect these aspects of our relations with the Latin American countries, its chief purpose is to furnish a knowledge of the geographical and historical backgrounds, and the resultant political and social institutions of those countries in order that a better understanding and appreciation of their problems on our part may result.

I. THE INFLUENCE OF GEOGRAPHY

ONE of the primary factors in explaining the civilization of a people is geography. This is especially true of Latin America. Although South America is 1,500 miles nearer the Antarctic Circle than Africa, the greater part of the continent lies in the Torrid Zone where the hot climate, the parasitic insect life and the luxuriant vegetation combine to impede man's efforts at progress.

The facts of geography go far to explain what has been, until comparatively recent years, the slow eco-

conomic development of the South American countries and their more leisurely and less practical attitude toward the affairs of everyday life.

TOPOGRAPHY

The topography of Latin America was a second obstacle to a rapid development of a new civilization. The early Spaniards, after their initial plantation settlement in the West Indies, turned their attention chiefly to the regions along the west coast which contained the mines of gold and silver. The narrow coastal plain between the Andes and the Pacific is largely desert except for narrow strips of irrigable land along the lower courses of intermittent streams fed by rain and snow in the Andes. East of the Andes, on the other hand, the rainfall is heavy and jungles abound. In the Amazon basin the jungle, quite impenetrable in the dry season and much of it an enormous morass in the wet season, has effectively prevented any important expansion inland from the banks of the navigable rivers. In Mexico and Central America the land rises rapidly from the low plains along the coasts of the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean into plateaus cut up into small valleys by high crisscross mountains.

It is obvious to what an extent topography combined with location prevented the rapid development of a new civilization in Latin America. It was not until the growing need of the farmers of Europe and the United States for fertilizers in the middle of the nineteenth century brought European and American vessels to the west coast by way of Cape Horn to secure guano from the islands off Peru and later nitrates from Chile, that the west coast countries awakened. It was, however, the

opening of the Panama Canal, in 1914, which made possible fast and frequent sailings from Europe and the United States to the west coast, that gave the great stimulus to development that has since been realized. Before that date the industrialism of Western Europe had, however, created a demand for the food products which were so easily raised on the pampas of Argentina and Uruguay, and which had been supplied during the nineteenth century by the United States and Russia. This demand for their products was the stimulus to the awakening of not only the Spanish countries of the east coast but southern Brazil as well. Brazil's development was also greatly stimulated by the demand for its coffee and rubber.

CLIMATE

Of all the geographical elements that help to explain the rise and the nature of a civilization, probably no one is more influential than climate. In this respect the Latin American countries are unfortunately placed. Three quarters of Latin America is in the tropics, and the Caribbean area is wholly in the tropics. Man must not only withstand the extreme heat, the humidity and the venomous insects of a large part of the tropics, but his vitality is reduced by the existence of such tropical diseases as malaria, yellow fever, dysentery and hookworm. The strong and advanced nations of the world have flourished in the north temperate zone and modern civilization grew up in that zone, particularly in Europe. However, in the tropics of Latin America altitude is very important in the life of the inhabitants. For every three hundred and thirty feet of altitude there is a decrease of one degree of temperature. Hence in large areas in the highlands that follow the Pacific Ocean more or less closely from

the Rio Grande to Cape Horn, elevation has produced a climate that permits the establishment of a flourishing white man's civilization.

NATURAL RESOURCES

In contrast to the United States, Latin America is characterized by a lack of resources for an industrial civilization. There is almost no coal, the very foundation of nineteenth-century civilization, only a little in Chile and comparatively small deposits in Mexico. Brazil has splendid deposits of iron, but far from the coast and far from coal deposits with which to develop iron foundries. Moreover, where mineral deposits exist they are away from the centers of agriculture, which makes it difficult to develop industry.

Most countries of Latin America are not only primarily agricultural but are one- or two-product countries. Argentina and Uruguay are almost wholly given over to agriculture and grazing; Brazil and Colombia to coffee raising; Chile to the mining of nitrates and copper; Bolivia to the mining of tin, and the Caribbean countries to the cultivation of sugar and fruits. All these products are hypersensitive to conditions beyond the control of the producing country. They come into competition with a widely varying world production. In the case of wheat, demand varies with peace and war, as is also true of nitrates and copper. In the case of coffee and bananas, which are in the nature of semi-luxuries, the price is wholly dependent upon prosperity elsewhere. If the foreign demand for the product of the one industry of a country remains high, the country is prosperous; if the demand falls, the country faces a serious situation.

II. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

FOR several centuries previous to the discovery of America, Spain had been the scene of a religious war between Christians and Mohammedans, a war characterized by religious fanaticism, personal bravery and relentless cruelty. During its prosecution national and religious uniformity was considered essential to success, and the men who came out of the long struggle as the nation's honored and trusted leaders were the warrior and the priest. The war ended in the year that Columbus discovered America.

CHARACTER OF THE EARLY SETTLERS

The marvellous tales that soon came back from the new lands concerning their people and their wealth induced the hardy warrior seeking riches and glory and the priest seeking the salvation of souls, to sail west. They were not primarily farmers seeking homes in a new land, as was the case with the colonizers of our own country, but military adventurers looking for gold and silver. Moreover, they were all Spaniards, all Catholics, all obedient subjects of one form of government, an absolutism. Uniformity, not diversity, was the dominating characteristic. What was true of the Spaniards was also true of the Portuguese. And between Spain and Portugal, Pope Alexander VI, by his bull of April 1493, divided the new world, giving the eastern portion to Portugal and the western to Spain.

EXPLOITATION AND REVOLUTION

In the sixteenth century every European country looked upon its colonies as existing for the benefit of the

mother country. This was particularly true of the colonies of Spain where foreigners were rarely admitted, foreign ideas were excluded, foreign trade was to be carried on wholly as a Spanish monopoly with Spain in Spanish ships, and where the colonists were not even permitted to sail ships from one part of Spanish America to another.

As Spain decayed in power, influence and prosperity after the defeat of the Great Armada, she clung to her colonies with an increasing tenacity. However, the writings of the French philosophers, which were smuggled in, prepared the way for the ready acceptance of the ideas underlying the French Revolution and had a remarkable influence throughout all Latin America. The result, in the early nineteenth century, was the Spanish American wars for independence and Spain's loss of her colonies.

Despite their unity in language, religion and customs, the colonies soon separated into states upon the basis of the administrative divisions that had existed under Spain. Then, as the boundaries were vague, wars between the states were at first frequent. Inexperienced in administering their own affairs, familiar only with government from above, these states naturally became dictatorships whose personnel changed frequently as the result of civil wars. Despite the efforts of patriots in their struggle for freedom, of writers and of men of the type of Bolivar with his political ideals, the Latin American countries began as republics in name only and the elements of democracy were practically nonexistent.

The frontier, as we understand the term, existed in but few places in Latin America. On the west coast of South America, which was the first part of that continent to be

colonized, the Andes stopped the movement of population from the sea inland and society rapidly became stereotyped. On the east coast, topography did not present so great an obstacle to a westward movement of population, but, with the exception of the southern part, climate prevented the development of the vigorous life that characterized our own frontier.

The Spaniards drove the natives before them whenever the natives were of the same nomadic type as in the United States. But most of the natives with whom the Spaniards came in contact were sedentary, agricultural people who accepted the conquerors and became their serfs. The land was divided into great estates worked by these peons, in contrast to the homesteads established in our own country. Hence the need to develop the practical side of life did not exist for the colonist in Latin America to the same extent as with us, and except in a few sections like Argentina, Uruguay and southeastern Brazil, his descendants to this day live far more nearly like their fathers than does any one in the United States. Life is neither standardized nor mechanized in Latin America as it is in this country. The Latin American has always been an individualist and a theorist, more interested in ideas as ideas than in material things. This attitude, however, is everywhere yielding to a more practical viewpoint, and particularly so in the southern regions.

III. SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

THE FAMILY

THE family usually is large, as practically no birth control exists in Latin America, and is far more of a unit than in the United States. Until recently the family

has been of the patriarchal type, held together by loyalties which we do not observe to the same extent and lacking the individuality which characterizes our family life. However, as with ourselves, the young people of this generation in Latin America show growing independence. Moreover, in Latin America, as in the United States, economic necessity has driven people into apartments in the cities. These facts probably spell the dwindling of the importance of the patriarchal family within the comparatively near future.

Children occupy a large place in the life of the Latin American family and are usually much spoiled by the average mother, though possibly no more so than American children. They mature in Latin America earlier than with us, and a boy is often looked upon as a young man when he reaches sixteen. He is sometimes given a key to the house and allowed almost complete freedom of conduct. Young girls of the higher classes are carefully guarded, chaperonage being a live institution. But for those less sheltered, decent living is probably a more difficult thing than with us. The attitude towards women is different from ours, though it is difficult as yet to tell the influence upon our own life of the demoralizing effects of the World War. A different mentality exists as to sexual indulgence, which is regarded largely as a matter of course. The average Latin American, however, would not admit that life is more loose in his country than here, but only that loose living is more successfully concealed with us.

SPORTS

The growing emphasis everywhere upon sports, has had an astonishingly good influence upon young people.

In addition to *frontón* (*jai-alai*), inherited from Spain, baseball in Mexico and Cuba, and soccer in Uruguay and Argentina have a great vogue. All this is especially true of the southern countries of South America. In them the large cities have great stadia which are nearly always filled on Sundays and frequently at other times with people watching football games with keen enthusiasm. Tennis, rowing, sailing and other sports have all helped in the leading of a healthier and cleaner life. The accumulation of wealth in the progressive countries of southern South America has been accompanied by a great interest in horse racing, and palatial jockey-club buildings are to be found in the large cities. The growing interest in sports in Latin America is accompanied by a decline in the popularity of cockfights, and bullfights are now almost nonexistent.

PLACE OF WOMEN

Judged from our point of view, the Latin Americans have a lower estimate of woman's place in life. This is partly a heritage from Iberian civilization, and partly a result of the fact that the early settlers brought no women with them and cohabited freely with the native Indian women and also later with Negro women after the introduction of Negro slaves. Only a small percentage of women in Latin America have anything approaching an advanced education. In the highest social stratum women are not only respected but are as finely educated and intelligent as in any country of the world. But that attitude does not extend far down in the social scale and the idea of the equality of the sexes has but slight existence. The position of woman has always been inferior to that of man, and although in the life of the family the

mother has a highly respected place, that place is due to the fact that she is a mother. Even now in most parts of Latin America a woman remains all her life under the influence, first of her father and even her brothers, and later of her husband.

A feminist movement exists in several Latin American countries but nowhere has it been very effective. Even the radicals who have broken with tradition oppose woman suffrage in some countries on the ground that, however much it might at first redound to the benefit of liberal ideas, eventually it would be the Church that would profit by it. The Church finds its strongest support among women in every country of Latin America and the radicals look upon the Church as a reactionary institution.

Until comparatively recently the only career for a girl in Latin America was marriage. Even social service opportunities are almost nonexistent in the Latin American countries. A great change, however, has taken place especially in the more advanced countries as the result of the spread of commerce and industry, into which many young women have entered as clerks, typists, stenographers and secretaries. Moreover, the omnipresent American movie, portraying a place in life for women of a much freer type than has always existed in Latin America, is making a deep impression.

EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS

It must not be forgotten that in an immense area of what is now Hispanic America the Spaniards found millions of pagan Indians settled on the soil. To Christianize and elevate them and the mestizos who have sprung from the union of white men and red women, has been a

difficult task indeed. Hence illiteracy is very prevalent throughout Latin America, varying from 25 percent in countries like Argentina or Costa Rica, which are almost wholly white, to 75 percent in Brazil, and to even a higher proportion in some of the countries of the Caribbean area. There are some splendid schools in several of the large cities and there is widespread interest in the newer educational theories and practices in the elementary schools. But, as a whole, education is in a backward state.

THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

The control and administration of education depends primarily upon whether a country has a federal or unitary system of government. If it is a federal system, as in the case of Brazil or Mexico, education is a matter of states, the federal government, however, giving aid especially for rural elementary schools in backward areas. But most Latin American countries are of the unitary type, and in nearly all of those the control of education is centralized at the capital, the smaller political units having practically nothing to say.

Politics pervades the educational system in most Latin American countries and plays havoc with it. The ministers of education change rapidly and with them the systems or plans they introduce.

Interest in education is not centered, as in the United States, primarily upon the elementary school—that is, the people's school—but upon the secondary school, the school of the favored classes, which is the avenue to official and social preferment. The principle of equality of opportunity is not part of the Latin American's philosophy of life and there has been little attempt to intro-

duce into the school practical subjects to conform to the needs of the working people. Since education does not lead to opportunities in a poor industrial situation, it is not sought by those who perform the lowest tasks. Hence it is the mark of a class. Few of the children of the common people go to the *liceo*, the secondary school, and usually little attempt is made to encourage them to do so.

THE NORMAL SCHOOL

Every Latin American country maintains normal schools for the training of teachers for the elementary school. The provision for these made by the state is often excellent. In most countries the students are not only taught but lodged and fed in fine dormitories at government expense. In the large cities the elementary school teachers are alive, energetic, professionally minded and progressive. This is not true in the rural districts, where graduates of normal school go only when a place cannot be secured in a city school. Salaries of elementary school teachers are sometimes held up for months in the more backward countries. This is seldom true of the secondary school, which is attended by the children of the favored classes.

THE SECONDARY SCHOOL

The secondary school, the *liceo* or *colegio*, is generally a purely academic institution with the old-fashioned cultural curriculum and administered with little regard to modern methods. Latin and Greek, however, have little or no place in the curriculum. They have been supplanted by modern languages, usually French and English. The chief aim of the *liceo* is to prepare the young boy to pass the examination to enter one of the faculties

of law, medicine or engineering of the university, which he does upon receiving the degree of *bachiller*. Its curriculum is rigid and it is administered with but one purpose, namely, careful and strict selection for the university. The elimination is enormous. Of a hundred pupils who enter, seldom more than a dozen finish the course of six years. The primary aim of examination is not to measure ability but the amount of information acquired. Hence the tendency is to secure a theoretical mastery of a field of knowledge rather than to apply knowledge to practical life. The education of the *liceo* is essentially verbalistic, scholastic and formal in nature and it reenforces among the ruling class the common prejudice of Spanish-speaking peoples against commercial and industrial vocations.

THE UNIVERSITY

Today every Latin American country has at least one university and some have several. The earliest, San Marcos of Lima, was founded by royal decree in 1551, 85 years before the founding of Harvard. The Latin American university is everywhere a national institution directly under the control of the government, which provides most of the budget. Hence it often becomes a pawn in the play of national politics. Hardly a rector remained anywhere at the head of a university after the last series of revolutions in 1930. In every case he was displaced by some one favored by the new government, and in some cases this was true of professors as well.

The Latin American university is always situated in a city, and always the capital city if there be but one university in a country. The main building, often a converted monastery of cloistral appearance, is located on

the principal avenue. Other parts of the university are frequently scattered about the city. There are no dormitories, no campuses, no shady walks, no eating commons. The students live at home, with relatives or in boarding houses. There is no gymnasium, athletic field or tennis court, because athletics form no part of university life. Nor is there any chapel, religion being excluded from the curriculum. There is always a central hall for intellectual gatherings, but no social center for there is little social intercourse. The Latin American university is a place of intellectual discipline and political agitation, which inspires no feeling of loyalty towards it as an Alma Mater.

The university is today practically everywhere organized to provide recruits for the professions and the government service. It is essentially, therefore, a loose collection of professional schools generally free to the graduates of the *liceo*. Except in the most progressive countries, it is fair to say that the chief aim of the average graduate is to secure a government position. This will, to a certain extent, explain the astonishing number of students studying law or medicine. A large part of the students do not intend to practice their profession, but the coveted title of "doctor" marks a man at once as above his fellows.

University teachers in Latin America in the faculties of law, medicine and engineering are nowhere full-time professors and even in the faculties of letters, science and education, men are often engaged in professional work. The theory is that a man engaged in professional practice is better qualified to teach the subject. Many of the professors hold their positions as a matter of prestige and give little attention to their university duties. Scientific

education has made little progress owing to the lack of libraries, laboratories and equipment; the lecture method being the prevailing method of teaching. However, the great economic expansion that has taken place in the more advanced countries of Latin America since the war is causing a demand for greater emphasis upon practical subjects and methods in the educational system.

The liberal education provided by the faculties of philosophy and letters and by the law schools is very effective along the lines which the Latin Americans themselves admire. This is shown by their extraordinary versatility and their keen interest in and knowledge of literary and artistic subjects. They consider that these are the real values of life rather than the more material and social ones that are stressed in the United States.

STUDENT POLITICS AND STRIKES

The students of South American countries are intensely interested in politics and in the conduct of government. They make pronouncements on current political issues to which government officials pay careful attention. They are inclined to be radical and often cooperate with workers in labor strikes and movements for better social conditions. Politics with Latin American students takes the place of athletics with our students and they not only take a deep interest in political and social problems but actually know a great deal about them. Most of the recent revolutions began in student uprisings, the students usually insisting upon the overthrow of the dictators in power.

Student strikes within the university are sometimes initiated to modernize courses of instruction or to get rid of an incompetent professor or political rector. These,

however, have been misused and have now become an evil.

THE CHURCH

Just as the State has had a practical monopoly of intellectual education, so, until comparatively recently, the Church has had a monopoly of religious belief in Latin America. Like practically all established churches throughout history, the Church in Latin America has been the opponent of reform; hence nearly all reformers have been anticlerical. Nevertheless the mass of the people are loyal to the Church though its hold on the intellectual classes is negligible. However, the ferment in some countries stimulated by the economic development produced by the war has awakened the Church to the necessity of interesting itself in the social welfare of the people, if it is to retain its strong place in their life. The trend towards liberalism is making headway especially in those countries where complete separation of Church and State has taken place.

IV. POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

THE STATE

WHEN the Latin American colonies gained their independence, the new states, with the exception of Brazil, became "republics." In some cases they followed the federal model of the United States; in others, the strongly centralized one of the First French Republic. Thus the early revolutions after independence generally centered around the struggle between these two ideas.

Being wholly unaccustomed to local self-government during the colonial period they endowed the executive with very broad authority, with the result that, as mentioned above, they were soon transformed into dictatorships.

Nearly all the Latin American countries are still in the oligarchic stage of development. In most of them society consists of an upper layer of old families with the rest of the population an agricultural proletariat. The old families still have great influence everywhere, though theirs is a waning power in the more progressive countries. Only in the largest cities, where commerce and industry have begun to develop, is there a growing middle class, the necessary foundation for democracy. Widespread illiteracy is another great obstacle to the development of democracy. The idea of a civil service based on examination, freed from political pressure, with safe tenure and adequate compensation does not yet exist in Latin America. Family influence and political friendship are the chief avenues to government service, with the result that there are large numbers of inefficient and unnecessary officials and underlings.

POLITICAL REVOLUTIONS

The oligarchic organization of society in Latin America goes far to explain the habit of revolution which prevailed throughout the nineteenth century. The military adventurer with the support of one clique of the governing class and with sufficient troops to drive out the group in power, would revolt and either install an opposing group or make himself dictator. The mass of the people were neither consulted nor concerned.

A great improvement in this respect has been made in

the twentieth century. Although many of the Latin American countries have had revolutions during the past five years, most of these were essentially different from the revolutions of the nineteenth century, started by military adventurers. In almost all cases the revolutions were of economic origin and were supported by politically-minded people. They were sometimes popular, even national movements, demanding greater political stability as the necessary foundation for economic prosperity. In some cases they were characterized by an insistence upon greater liberalism and a greater respect for constitutional guarantees.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The pastoral life of the cattle barons in Argentina and Uruguay lasted down to the final quarter of the nineteenth century, while the subsistence agricultural economy, characterizing practically all the other regions of Latin America except Chile and southeastern Brazil, continued to the end of the century. In the meantime a great movement was taking place in Western Europe and the United States that transformed the world more in the nineteenth century than in all the centuries that preceded it—the industrial revolution.

During the long wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon, Great Britain was the only part of Europe free from the armies that tramped over the rest of the continent. She alone could make use of the machines resulting from the remarkable series of inventions of the late eighteenth century and, with the aid of her coal mines, transform her domestic system of industry into the factory system. The peace which followed the overthrow of Napoleon permitted the countries of the conti-

ment to follow her example. The transformation proceeded slowly at first, but with the stability following the settlement of the political status of France, Italy, Germany and Central Europe about the year 1870, it rapidly gathered momentum. As the population expanded throughout Western Europe, it became concentrated largely in manufacturing cities. Neither Great Britain nor Germany nor Belgium could feed itself. Moreover, to develop manufactures such countries needed raw materials. At first they got most of the necessary food products and raw materials from the United States, but with the growth of manufactures and population in this country the home demands on its resources compelled Europe to look elsewhere. With the necessary capital investment, technical knowledge and managerial ability, Latin America could provide Europe with cereals, meat, hides, wool, coffee, rubber, copper, nitrates and, to a less extent, sugar, cocoa and cotton. With the money it would obtain by the sale of these raw materials it could buy the manufactures provided by industrialized countries and become a market for their goods.

But Latin America lacked the capital, the technical knowledge and the managerial ability with which to undertake this development. The instability of government and the frequency of revolutions had made investment in any form of business in Latin America so insecure that savings were sent abroad for investment as a matter of safety. There are but few savings banks in Latin America even today. Hence, if the economic possibilities mentioned above were to be developed, the necessary capital would have to come from abroad. It did, chiefly from Great Britain.

BRITISH AND GERMAN INFLUENCE

This aspect of the economic expansion in Latin America must be emphasized: the impulse to change and progress came from without. Latin America owes a debt of gratitude to the British and later to the Germans for their contribution to the constructive development of the continent. At the time Argentina discovered her opportunity as an alfalfa grower, the British suggested the introduction of high-grade cattle which so improved the breed that the meat of Argentina and Uruguay became acceptable to Western Europe. It was British capital that established the first packing houses and later the great *frigoríficos*, plants for freezing meat, about which has centred so great an industry. It was the British who invested billions in railroads, port facilities and fast shipping lines, and who established banking facilities throughout Latin America. These rendered enormous service to its business life. The German communities in Chile and southern Brazil were models of new and efficient methods of agriculture. They gave a great stimulus not only to that industry but also to a better standard of living. Moreover, the patient, persevering well-trained German salesmen brought the products of German manufacturers even to remote towns and villages.

American investments in Latin America before the World War were largely confined to Cuba and Mexico, but British and German economic influence was felt everywhere, particularly in the progressive countries of southern South America. When the World War broke out, this economic impact had already had a marked influence upon the civilization, culture and attitude towards life of the peoples of those countries.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE WORLD WAR

The World War had amazing consequences for Latin America. The fighting nations made huge demands for her products. Cereals, meats, sugar, wool and hides were needed for feeding and clothing the armies. Nitrates, copper and manganese were required for other military purposes. Production, stimulated to an unheard of extent, brought great wealth to the upper classes. Industrial establishments in Great Britain and Germany were diverted to war industries and the British and Germans practically withdrew from the Latin American field except as buyers. But since the Latin Americans had to have the manufactured goods to which they had become accustomed, especially since the war had increased their buying capacity to so great an extent, they turned to the United States, which alone could provide these goods. The result was the development of our commerce with Latin America to an astonishing extent. After the war the British and Germans returned to Latin America and regained most of their former trade in such industries as textiles and chemicals. But the Americans in the meantime had stimulated new wants and desires. Automobiles, trucks, tractors, heavy machinery for port developments and roadbuilding, office equipment and electrical apparatus such as refrigerators and vacuum cleaners for domestic use won a big market.

ENTRANCE OF AMERICAN CAPITAL

Moreover, the Latin American governments were inspired to engage in extensive development enterprises to open up their territory and beautify their cities, to build railroads, drain swamps, electrify towns and undertake

great sanitation programs. All this required immense amounts of capital and there was practically but one reservoir to draw from, the United States. Consequently, to the 6 billion dollars which had been invested by the British in Latin America, 6 billions of American capital have been added, three-quarters of it since the war.

The loans extended to the South American governments were often made as the result of competition between American bankers without adequate care and investigation as to their justification from the standpoint of either the security offered, the objects for which they were made, or the burden of the interest and amortization charges. Moreover, there can hardly be any doubt that some of this "easy" money went to line the pockets of politicians in the borrowing countries. When the depression came, and revenues dropped while exchange difficulties increased, nearly all the South American governments necessarily defaulted.

Fortunately, however, not all American investments in Latin America are in government loans. Of the total of nearly six billions, only two and a half are of that kind. Three and a half billions have been devoted to plantation agriculture and mining enterprises, especially nitrates and copper, and particularly to such constructive industrial enterprises as electric power plants, water works, port facilities, public utilities and similar productive undertakings.

RESULTS OF AMERICAN INVESTMENTS

In addition to the influence of these investments upon the life of the people, one or two aspects of the movement deserve consideration. It is sometimes stated that foreign concessions are secured by questionable methods.

This was undoubtedly true in the past, but it is much less, if at all, true today. Public opinion in the Latin American countries is peculiarly sensitive on the subject of concessions to foreigners and very scrutinizing when they are now granted. It is also frequently stated that the foreign corporations take immense profits out of the Latin American countries and leave little or nothing behind. This is by no means the whole story. The foreign corporations are certainly in those countries to make money and the peoples of some of the countries have benefited little by their operations. But in other countries the corporations are making undoubted contributions to the welfare of the nation. There have been periods when their profits have been very large, but there have been other periods when their losses have been equally heavy. Taken all in all, it is probable that American investments in the Latin American countries since the World War have done little more than break even.

Intelligent Latin Americans fortunately understand that if they are to realize their desire to have the great resources of their countries developed, capital must come from abroad. There is also a growing tendency for the Latin American governments and the foreign corporations to cooperate helpfully in the management of these enterprises. Nevertheless, it is understandable why some of the inhabitants of those countries, especially patriotic but often uninformed and inexperienced young students, should feel resentment at the fact that foreign interests control so many of the necessary elements of their civilization.

This great movement of foreign capital investment has greatly modified life in all the Latin American countries

and has transformed life in the more progressive. The Latin American is no longer an isolated being; he has become a man of the world. The discovery during the war that his continent plays so important a part in world economy and that he is not merely on the fringe of international affairs, has added greatly to his pride in his homeland. The fast steamship and aeroplane that unite him with every part of the world, the cable, telegraph, telephone and radio connections that keep him informed of international affairs and have destroyed his former isolation—all these have enormously increased his self-confidence, and produced a demand for political stability and economic security.

PROBLEM OF THE LARGE ESTATES

The economic transformation has been accompanied by difficult social problems requiring unusual political intelligence for their solution. The problem of the *latifundia*, the enormous estates, a long-existent one, has never been so pressing as in recent years. In the colonial days large estates were granted to favorites by the crowns of Spain and Portugal. Moreover, ever since those times land has been cheap and often given gratis to military and political leaders. As a result, estates of from one hundred thousand to five hundred thousand acres exist today in some of the Latin American countries. These are in many places practically feudalistic and are worked by tenants who are still in a condition approaching serfdom. Moreover, the owners of many of these *estancias* or *haciendas* spend most of their time in the capital or in Europe, many of them visiting their estates only at intervals. Some of the *estancias*, especially those nearer the big cities, are equipped with the most

modern agricultural and dairying machinery and are worked efficiently and profitably. But many are heavily mortgaged as the result of inefficient administration.

The problem of the great estates is a most serious one in an agricultural country, and practically all the countries of Latin America are predominantly agricultural. The present economic crisis, resulting in low prices for agricultural products, has borne heavily upon them. Part of an estate must sometimes be sold to meet interest charges and increased expenses. The more progressive statesmen look forward to their break-up as the result of increasing taxation and advanced legislation. Mexico has taken the lead in such advanced legislation and has divided many of the great estates among the peons, especially among the Indians.

EVILS OF THE PLANTATION SYSTEM

Admitting the unprogressive character of much of the small-scale native agriculture, generally speaking, the influence of the investment of American capital in tropical agriculture of the plantation type has not been beneficial to the mass of the people where it has taken place. In Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic sugar is the chief product. Before the great investment of American capital, the industry was carried on primarily by small producers. The laborers owned small plots of land upon which they cultivated not only sugar for export but food products for their own use.

But the American penchant for big-scale production was soon realized. The large plantation supplanted the small farm; big agricultural machinery took the place of the modest implements of the small farmer. The native lost his status as an independent producer and

became a wage laborer, working on the plantation exclusively to produce sugar. Having sold his small plot to the American corporation, he no longer produced food of any kind and became dependent upon food products imported from the United States.

When the demand for sugar was great and the price high, as they were during the World War, the inherent evils of this system were not evident. But they rapidly became manifest with the catastrophic fall in the price of sugar after 1920. The absentee American corporation, interested primarily in the profits of the sugar industry, had little consideration for the unfortunate plight of the agricultural proletariat that had developed under the plantation system the corporation had nourished.

Allowing for the great influence of the fall in the price of sugar, it is not too much to say that the condition of the average inhabitant of Cuba and Puerto Rico has grown worse since, and partly because of, the introduction by American corporations of large-scale plantations in the sugar industry. A much better condition of things however, is found in the banana plantations of the Caribbean countries where higher standards of living in the form of wage payment, sanitation and education have been introduced.

INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS

The influence of the mining industry upon the welfare of the people has varied in different countries. In Chile it has developed the country; the relations between the foreign corporations and the Chilean workers have generally been of a happy kind; and the relations between the Chilean Government and the governments of the foreign corporations, chiefly American and British, have

been quite cordial. In the case of Peru the results have not been so happy. In Venezuela, the oil industry is of primary importance and governmental revenues from imposts upon it explain the existence of low taxes and good roads and the absence of foreign debts. Considerable money derived from oil has been left in Venezuela, but unfortunately in too few hands. That, however, is not the fault of the foreign corporations.

OTHER BENEFITS AND LOSSES

The adverse effects of American investment in plantation agriculture, described above, have not accompanied investments in public utilities, banking and commercial organizations and enterprises generally, where more than manual labor is required. Even in industries of the latter kind the most important effect upon the local population has often been to raise the standard of living, using that term in its broadest sense. The great foreign corporations must frequently establish their plants in entirely undeveloped regions, where the first care must be for the health of their workers. They drain swamps to destroy malaria, drill wells for water supply to prevent dysentery, provide instruction in personal hygiene, feeding and sanitation, found hospitals for sick workers, provide recreational facilities for games and establish cinemas. The increased opportunity for work and the higher wages which are usually paid by the foreign corporations have often been accompanied upon the part of the workers by a desire for better living conditions, better food and clothing, education for children and the keeping of savings accounts. For example, some Chilean miners save a part of their earnings, and when they have a sufficient sum they buy a plot of land and go into inde-

pendent farming. In these respects the foreign corporations have sometimes been real civilizing agencies and stimuli to reform.

The criticism is sometimes made by Latin Americans, however, that even admitting the truth of these statements, when oil wells run dry or mines cease producing, the foreign corporation stops work and departs, leaving nothing behind but a hole in the ground. Large numbers of workers become idle and must shift for themselves or become a public charge. This is unfortunately true, as the history of mining and of oil development in the western part of our own country abundantly illustrates. But it is difficult to see how that outcome can be avoided anywhere. What is needed is security for the worker under some form of social protection.

EFFECT UPON INDIVIDUAL WORKERS

The effect upon the individual Latin American workers who have participated in the economic transformation in the higher reaches of labor is very important. They number many thousands. Partly to gain the good will of the people of the Latin American countries, and also because it is cheaper, foreign corporations have pursued the policy of employing natives rather than foreigners in the working of their plants. The new industries are largely built upon the use of tools and machines. They have, therefore, placed an emphasis upon manual and technical skill. Even the running of an auto requires more alertness of mind, keenness of eye and ear, and deftness of hand than does the guiding of a plough. The result of the movement has been a greater appreciation upon the part of thousands of individuals of the importance of industry, business and commerce in

the national life. These individuals collectively form part of a growing middle class, too small as yet to have a great deal of influence upon public affairs, but gradually altering their aim and administration.

The old controlling families, made up primarily of landowners, have become more economic-minded in the countries that have been most affected by the economic transformation. The growth of industry, business and commerce has greatly enhanced the value of their immense land holdings not only because of the increase of population but because of the new uses to which the lands have been put on account of the varied demands for their products by the outside world. Though the holding of land still brings the greatest social prestige, the indifferent, even disdainful attitude in some places towards industrial pursuits is passing and a considerable amount of local money is now going into the more important industries.

IMMIGRATION

The rapid development of the Latin American countries resulting from the introduction of foreign capital has brought about a considerable increase of immigration to the more progressive countries of southern South America—to Argentina, Uruguay, southern Brazil and, to a less extent, to Chile. Throughout the whole nineteenth century there had been an infiltration of British to the southern countries of South America and especially to Argentina and Chile. Many of them married into distinguished native families and became prominent in the life of the country in which they settled. They were cordially welcomed as an asset to the country. This was also true of the large immigration of Germans,

particularly into southeastern Brazil and southern Chile.

During the latter part of the nineteenth century, and up to the present time, two and a half million Italians have emigrated to southern South America. Between one quarter and one third of the population of Argentina is today either Italian or of Italian ancestry. Large numbers are also found in southern Brazil where they man and control the textile, shoe, glass and other factories, and have been chiefly instrumental in making São Paulo the greatest industrial city south of the Rio Grande. The Italians who go to South America come from the more progressive north of Italy. Sober, industrious and thrifty, they frequently settle down on the land as small farmers.

The second largest group of immigrants to Latin America has come from Spain, and the Basques have been particularly successful. Since the war considerable numbers have also come from Central and Eastern Europe—from Czechoslovakia, Poland and from colonies of expatriated Russians. Recently there has been an influx of Japanese, especially to Brazil. Very few immigrants have gone to the countries in the tropical regions, not only because of the heat in the lowlands but also because of the generally inferior status of the laboring population, which is composed almost exclusively of Indians, mestizos and Negroes. Partly as the result of this unattractiveness to white immigrants it is probably true that in Mexico, in Central America save little Costa Rica, and in all the countries of the Caribbean and of the west coast of South America except Chile, the percentage of whites is declining.

Like the immigrants who have come to the United

States, those to the Latin American countries have gone there to better themselves. They throw in their lot with the native population, learn the language and become citizens. It is the story of the melting pot over again. The passage of our immigration law of 1924, which so drastically reduced the number admitted to this country, diverted the immigrants to Latin America. The movement assumed considerable proportions before 1929, but as in the case of the United States, immigration to Latin America practically ceased with the economic depression and thousands of immigrants have returned to their native lands.

LABOR PROBLEMS

The great economic development and the resulting immigration have created a widely diffused labor problem in Latin America. An industrial proletariat has grown up in cities like São Paulo and Buenos Aires, where factories have developed to a considerable extent, and also in the nitrate and mining regions of the west coast. Labor unions exist in many countries, but as often fight one another as they do the "common enemy," the capitalists. This is because they often are led by political theorists, whether socialist, anarchist, syndicalist or, latterly, communist. Sometimes the trade unions have been used for almost exclusively political purposes. Strikes, direct and sympathetic, take place frequently not only to realize workers' aims but also to gain political objectives. The great docks at Buenos Aires have been at times idle for months on account of dockers' strikes.

Labor is far more radical in Latin America than in the United States. In times of depression workmen do not accept unemployment with the resignation shown by

American workmen. They are much more susceptible to the arguments of extremists and sometimes become violent. However, because a government denounces a party or a program as communistic is no evidence that it is communistic. That label is often applied when a movement is simply one of social reform. The device is well known in the United States.

The Communists, until recently, have had headquarters in Montevideo from which they spread their propaganda, much to the irritation of neighboring countries. Uruguay, indeed, had become in recent years something in the nature of a laboratory for political and social experiment, some of which has been of real value. The Uruguayan Government's attitude towards communist agitation was similar to that of the British Government with its Hyde Park. The Communists had freedom of meetings, which they held frequently, about which they placarded the city, and which few attended. The revolution in Uruguay organized by President Terra in 1932, which resulted in considerable constitutional and administrative changes, was of a conservative character. Radicals, and particularly Communists, have much less leeway for their activities than formerly.

The labor unions in the Latin American countries are almost all twentieth-century products. When they came into being there already existed in the industrial countries of Western and Central Europe much advanced social legislation for the protection of the workers. The Latin American labor unions secured without much difficulty the legislative adoption of labor codes of a very advanced type. This was often a matter of national politics. Capital was foreign, labor was native. But labor was not prepared for such advanced social legisla-

tion by understanding, experience or discipline. The result has been that the labor codes in some countries are, like the constitutions, ideal but not observed. The tendency now, however, is towards stricter enforcement.

V. PAN AMERICANISM AND ANTI-AMERICANISM

THE coming of Latin America to the fore during the twentieth century has not failed to call forth protestations of affection on the part of some European peoples who claim on a variety of grounds to have unusual interest in the welfare of the Latin American nations.

PAN HISPANISM

Race and language form the bases for Spain's interest in her former colonies and Pan Hispanism is the name given to the movement which has a vogue in intellectual circles in Spain and in Spanish America for emphasizing the heritage that binds the two regions together. The movement, however, is confined almost wholly to intellectuals and is far more popular in Spain than in Spanish America. Latin Americans are very patriotic and know their history. The treatment accorded them by the mother country in colonial days is not forgotten. Immediately after the American colonists succeeded in gaining their independence from Great Britain they resumed intimate cultural as well as commercial relations with the mother country. That was not true of the Spanish American colonies. The tie that bound them to Spain was much more deeply cut. Despite their interest in Spanish literature, they have not regarded

Spain as a well of inspiration from which they could drink sustaining power. They seldom visit Spain and still more seldom send their sons and daughters there to be educated. However, the Republican revolution of 1931 in Spain elicited a stream of sympathy and interest in the Hispanic-American countries. Intellectually they and the mother country are probably closer together now than they have ever been since the colonial period.

PAN IBERIANISM

Some intellectuals of Latin America who are anxious to see all the peoples of Latin heritage united in a cultural whole, have widened the Pan Hispanism movement into Pan Iberianism in order to include the large population of Brazil which is of Portuguese origin. But this movement is even more feeble than the other. Brazilians do not respond with much enthusiasm. They consider themselves distinct from Spanish Americans and dislike to be confused with them. Pan Iberianism is a weak sentiment, of little value as a permanent bond between the different peoples of Latin America.

PAN LATINISM

Of far greater influence is Pan Latinism, which is sponsored by France and to which many Latin American intellectuals have responded with a great deal of enthusiasm. After the French Revolution, French philosophical ideas, French political principles, French literature, French civilization and culture became the source from which the Latin Americans drew inspiration, especially during their formative years. French culture is today the most potent of all foreign influences

in the life of the Latin American peoples. Practically all members of the upper classes speak French fluently and French books are found in every cultured home.

The French regard their culture as unrivaled. The Alliance Française is omnipresent and, in most of the important cultural centers of the world, French Institutes are found in which distinguished professors from the Sorbonne expound aspects of French civilization. All this is particularly true of Latin America and moreover it meets with the approval of the cultivated people there. But it is the benevolent approval of a movement from which inspiration and materials may be drawn to help in the development of the virile culture which each Latin American nation feels it is establishing. Moreover, though outside of Argentina and southern Brazil few citizens of the Latin American countries look to Italy for spiritual kinship, Italy, or rather some Italian intellectuals, insist that Pan Latinism by the very name implies such a relationship. The fact is that Pan Latinism, like the other movements described above, is practically confined to groups within intellectual and academic circles and has little direct influence upon the life of the people generally. The recent demise of the *Revue de l'Amérique Latine* may be indicative of the waning of the movement.

HOW STRONG IS PAN AMERICANISM?

Is this also true of Pan Americanism, the movement having for its aim the development of unity among all the republics of the Western Hemisphere? In the early nineteenth century there did exist a widely diffused sentiment in favor of what was called continentalism. That was the romantic period in the literature of all the Amer-

ican peoples, north and south. Much was made of the recent struggles for independence, of the adoption of republican institutions, of the establishment of new civilizations founded upon liberty and the rights of man. It was felt that these things formed a spiritual bond which in a way united all the nations of the American continent as against Europe from which it was separated by geography. This attitude was strengthened by the pronouncement of the Monroe Doctrine as an instrument of defence for all the American nations against any attempted aggression upon the part of Europe.

The first serious blow to continentalism was our war with Mexico, and the series of unfortunate incidents in the relations between the United States and some of the Latin American countries since the Mexican War has so diluted the old ideal of continentalism that little of it remains. With the passage of time, elements of dissimilarity and division between the United States on the one hand and the countries to the south of us on the other became more pronounced than elements of resemblance and unity. More and more frequently South American conferences and Latin American conferences were held to which American representatives were not invited.

THE FIRST PAN AMERICAN CONFERENCE

The ideal of Pan Americanism was revived by Secretary of State James G. Blaine, who was animated by two principal ideas, namely, the growing importance of our commercial relations with the Latin American countries, and the dangers to peace on the Western Hemisphere resulting from the War of the Pacific (1879-1881) between Chile on the one side and Peru and Bolivia on the other. On November 29, 1881 he issued an invitation to the

Latin American countries to send representatives to a Pan American conference at Washington, but because of unfavorable conditions existing in Latin America, especially the bitterness resulting from the War of the Pacific, the conference did not really assemble until 1889. The feeling that dominated that gathering was a very different one from the feeling that prevailed throughout the Americas in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Then it was a generous sentiment of unity based on the background of similar colonial experiences, comparable struggles for independence and common national ideals. In 1889 there was but little of such feeling in evidence. The conference confined itself to consideration of such commercial problems as customs regulations, port duties, patents and trade marks, weights and measures, and such juridical problems as compulsory arbitration, extradition and reciprocity treaties.

THE PAN AMERICAN UNION

The single definite result of importance of the Conference of 1889 was the establishment of the International Bureau of American Republics at Washington whose name was changed to its present form, the Pan American Union, at the fourth conference held at Buenos Aires in 1910. Its function in the beginning was to collect and publish information concerning the products, commerce, laws and other aspects of the civilizations of the different American countries. It was to operate at Washington under a governing board made up of the diplomatic representatives at Washington of the other American nations, the chairman of which was to be *ex officio* the Secretary of State of the United States.

DISTRUST OF THE UNITED STATES

Generally speaking, the subjects considered at the first Pan American Conference, with the addition of cultural cooperation, have continued to occupy the attention of the seven subsequent conferences which have been held at irregular intervals since 1889. One question, however, has assumed increased importance, the question of arbitration among Latin American states. The tendency of Latin American efforts has been to give the Pan American conferences much more political color and to consider problems of political relations which confront the nations of the Western Hemisphere. This has always been opposed by the United States, which has desired to keep the Pan American Union a nonpolitical organization. Political discussion, it was believed, would be aimed chiefly at the policies of the United States with reference to Latin America. The Pan American conferences held previous to that at Montevideo in December 1933 usually resulted in increased distrust and suspicion of the United States by the Latin Americans. Our policy in the Caribbean, our insistence on a unilateral interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, and the apprehension aroused in some quarters that our economic penetration in Latin America might be the precursor of political domination, still further diluted the feeling of Pan Americanism.

THE "GOOD NEIGHBOR" POLICY

The Montevideo Conference was a turning point in the history of Pan Americanism. Already the "Good Neighbor" policy inaugurated by President Hoover and emphasized by President Roosevelt had borne good fruit. Our withdrawal from Nicaragua and Haiti and, later,

the abrogation of the Platt Amendment at the suggestion of President Roosevelt, were warmly welcomed by the Latin Americans. And Secretary of State Hull's success at the Montevideo Conference in convincing them that the United States had no desire to dominate but only to cooperate has undoubtedly changed public sentiment in the Latin American countries towards the United States.

CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM

Anti-Americanism, though much weakened during the past few years, still exists in Latin America. It is strongest among students and intellectuals, weaker among other people. The peasants either know nothing about this attitude or are indifferent, unless their passions are aroused by anti-American appeals. The proletarians of the big cities are radical and sometimes violent. They regarded the electrocution of Sacco and Vanzetti in 1927 as evidence of the power of heartless capitalism in the United States. The execution led to widely diffused anti-American outbursts on their part.

This subject is of such vital importance to a good understanding between the people of the United States and those to the south of us as to deserve careful analysis. The causes of the ill feeling towards the United States are manifold—some of long standing, some recent. The most important are as follows:

1. FEAR OF THE UNITED STATES

No emotion is more destructive to clear thinking and sound judgment than fear. This is true of nations as of individuals. President after President and statesman after statesman of the United States have assured the Latin Americans that they need have no fear of the

United States, that we have no design upon their territory or sovereignty.

We forget history. We have forgotten the Mexican War and the Panama Canal episode and our policy in the Caribbean, at which until recently we ourselves have shown irritation not because of any principle involved but because the problem did not get settled. The Latin American looks upon these episodes in the history of the United States as possible of repetition. Moreover, the fear of the United States among many extends to its economic penetration. Recriminations over concessions in Mexico and the Caribbean area have aroused the fear that economic penetration may be followed by attempted political domination.

When we think of Security with a capital S as a national policy, our minds turn naturally to France which has been the chief exponent of that policy. But Americans might profitably ponder over the fact that Security is likewise the chief aim of Latin American policy—until recently, security against the United States. The fact is that the United States in its relations with Latin America has been in the past also an advocate of security, but security of another kind—security for the investments and other economic interests of its citizens in Latin America.

Fear of the United States naturally grows less the farther south one goes. There is, for example, very little of it in Argentina and Brazil. It is in fact supplanted by a feeling of jealousy in some places, where people forget that we have had a half century start ahead of South America in economic and industrial development. Argentina particularly is very proud of its remarkable progress during the past generation. It regards the

leadership of Latin America as naturally falling to it, and sees itself as the protagonist of Latin America versus the United States. This attitude is not shared by the people of other countries of Latin America. In fact, nothing could be more mistaken than the belief that because a latent distrust of the United States exists in most of the Latin American countries, it has been an influence that has resulted in a unified bloc against the United States. There are too many divisive influences existing.

2. OUR DIPLOMATIC MISTAKES

The Americans in Latin America who represent the United States in some capacity have not always been of a kind that would give a happy impression of our civilization. Almost down to the Great War, the diplomatic posts in the Latin American countries were given to "deserving" Democrats and Republicans as rewards for service in political campaigns. Few of them spoke the language of the country to which they were sent or knew anything about its history, culture and institutions. Some were distinctly not exemplary in their conduct. It is gratifying to know that today these same posts are filled in the main with men of good breeding, familiar with the language, culture and institutions of the countries to which they have been sent, having respect and admiration for the peoples of those countries, and interest in other aspects of their work besides the merely proper discharge of their duties. Moreover, as far as one can observe, they have won the respect and friendship and sometimes the real admiration of the people to whom they are accredited. But the older generation of Latin Americans cannot forget the "deserving" Democrats and Republicans.

More influential in arousing resentment against us than our diplomatic representatives in the Latin American countries has been our diplomacy itself. This has been especially true of our attitude at the Pan American conferences, which are supposedly held every five years though really at irregular intervals. We have not only dominated them but have attempted to prevent Latin American representatives from bringing up matters which we did not want discussed. Fortunately, President Roosevelt sent a delegation to the Montevideo Conference with instructions to give every assurance to the Latin American delegates that we were there only to cooperate. And the attitude and activities of our delegates at the Conference convinced the Latin Americans that we were sincere. For the first time in the history of Pan American conferences the American delegation left at the close of the Conference with the esteem and friendship of the Latin American delegates.

3. OUR REPRESENTATIVES OF BUSINESS AND JOURNALISM

When our commerce with the South American countries increased so remarkably during the World War, American business interests were not prepared by knowledge and experience to act wisely in the situation. They sent to South America salesmen not only ignorant of the language but even more ignorant of the sensibilities of the people and openly disdainful of them and their ways of doing things generally. It was only when the English and Germans returned after the war as competitors that American companies awoke to their mistake and took measures to remedy it. They have done well since, however, and wherever one goes today in Latin America he

finds representatives of American corporations and firms, many of whom are college graduates and practically all of whom are men of good address.

The ignorant and supercilious salesman has been followed by another type of American equally dangerous to good understanding, the "special" newspaper or magazine representative who goes to a Latin American country inadequately informed about its history, culture, traditions, ideals and attitude towards life, who hurries around interviewing influential people, and who sends back articles to the American newspapers or magazines. The articles frequently cause resentment not so much at the facts stated as at the wrong interpretations due to an ignorance of the background of the facts. These "special" journalists, unlike the representatives of the United Press and the Associated Press, seldom speak any language save English and are dependent, therefore, upon contacts with other Americans or with Latin Americans who speak English. Moreover, these journalists and free-lance writers are frequently invited to address representative gatherings and unintentionally commit *faux pas* because of their ignorance of background. The Rotary Club in Latin American cities is made up not only of business men but of professional men, university scholars and leaders in the life of the community generally. To have improperly qualified Americans speak before them is a misfortune for the United States.

Comparatively few American tourists visit Latin America, but among those who do, a great many fail to enjoy or appreciate the places visited not merely because of ignorance of the language but because of too much attention to such adventitious circumstances as poor trans-

portation schedules or lack of first-class hotels in the smaller communities.

4. OUR MOVING PICTURES AND NEWSPAPER REPORTS

American moving pictures are omnipresent in Latin America. They are probably more responsible for the distorted view of American life and civilization that many people in Latin America hold than any other single factor. Until comparatively recently they consisted chiefly of pictures of the "wild west," of night life in our great cities, and of the deeds of gangsters and gunmen. They portrayed a laxity in home life and a freedom of action outside of it very repugnant to the rigid and traditional views of the Latin American. Generally speaking, the movie created a dislike for the American attitude towards life and an unwillingness to see elements of it introduced into Latin American civilization.

A great improvement in the kind of pictures sent to Latin America has taken place in the last few years, many of our finest films appearing on the screen there. Moreover, the talkies have been a great agency in the spread of a knowledge and use of English. They are practically all in this language but with frequent captions in good, idiomatic Spanish or Portuguese and the translations are carefully noted by many in the audience.

The newspapers of the Latin American cities are as much given to philosophizing about the news as to presenting the news itself. Moreover, the daily edition of a representative newspaper will usually contain excellent articles on literature, art, politics or philosophy which ordinarily are given only in our Sunday editions, if at all. An astonishing feature to an American is the comparatively little attention given to American affairs as com-

pared to happenings in countries of far less importance in world affairs and with which the Latin American countries have far fewer dealings. This is true even of *La Prensa* and *La Nación* of Buenos Aires, two of the most important and influential newspapers in the entire world. Though the Latin American newspaper has not so strong a feeling for the dramatic and sensational as have our own, the exploits of our gangsters and gunmen, the corruption of our politicians, our lynchings and general lawlessness receive more than proportionate attention. Between the movies and the newspaper reports, a view of our civilization has been diffused throughout Latin America which is not true to the facts and is most unfortunate for our influence there.

5. OUR RELATIVELY MATERIALISTIC LIFE

At the close of the nineteenth century the average cultured European looked upon Americans somewhat as the Greeks of Alexander's day looked upon the Macedonians, as a vigorous and competent people, but of little real culture. This view was shared by cultivated Latin Americans. Everywhere in Latin America admiration is expressed for the American's capacity for organization and for his remarkable accomplishment in the practical and material affairs of life. One of the most popular books in South America today is the life of Henry Ford. There is frank skepticism, however, as to the existence of interest in the things of the mind and of the spirit. American artists almost never go to Latin America and American musicians seldom go there. This is also true of American university professors because most of them resemble our population generally in speaking no language but English. The result is that the Latin Ameri-

cans know us only through our business men, and frequently in the past business men seeking to exploit Latin America.

The average Latin American believes that people who have so concentrated, as have we, upon developing the material side of civilization and upon standardizing ways of living, must have become materialistic in their ways of thinking upon other aspects of life. Moreover, this view is confirmed in their minds by the writings of our own critics of American life, which they read with avidity and accept as accurate portrayals. Mencken is highly regarded in some circles, and Sinclair Lewis and Upton Sinclair are widely considered as representative of our dominating literary tendencies. Latin Americans have always admired Emerson and Whitman. But they believe that these idealists are now regarded in the United States as *passé*, and they consider this an evidence of our growing materialism. Even today, many frankly do not look upon us as a cultured people interested in and familiar with literature, music, art and philosophy.

The French Revolution made a deep impression upon the Latin American countries. Ever since, French civilization and culture have been the sources from which they have drawn inspiration. In French civilization the man of ideas is exalted. But ours is a business man's civilization. The practical, successful business man is the highly regarded person in every community. The college professor is tolerated, but he has no place in the life of his community or of the country comparable to that of the business man.

It is difficult for an American to understand the relative places in Latin American civilization accorded to the man eminent in business life and the man eminent in

intellectual life. It is the man of ideas, of intellect, so frequently embodied in the university professor, that is honored everywhere. He has the entrée into society because of his intellectual preeminence. The relatively minor place occupied by the intellectual as compared to the "practical" man in the United States is often cited in Latin America as evidence of our lack of respect for culture.

A change, however, is rapidly taking place, particularly in the southern countries of South America, due to the development of economic life which is so much desired by progressive people and in which the practical man is taking so large a part. Moreover, those who visit the United States usually return with a better opinion of American civilization than they bring to it. But, though not so true as formerly, when the average Latin American looks forward to a voyage, it is to Europe, to France, rather than to the United States.

6. THE MONROE DOCTRINE

In any enumeration of the causes of ill feeling by Latin Americans against the United States a large place must be given to the Monroe Doctrine. The average Latin American is glad to express his gratitude for the influence of the Doctrine in warding off the predatory powers of Europe from exploiting Latin America as they had exploited Africa and as they later exploited China. But he also knows that the Doctrine was proclaimed primarily as a measure of self-protection for our own "peace and safety."

For the past forty years Latin Americans have been increasingly filled with resentment at the new interpretations of the Doctrine made by the American Govern-

ment. In 1895, at the time of the Venezuelan dispute with England, Mr. Olney announced that "Today the United States is practically sovereign on this continent and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition." In 1904 President Theodore Roosevelt in announcing his "Big Stick" policy stated distinctly that because of the meaning of the Monroe Doctrine the United States had become the policeman of the Western Hemisphere. This transformed the Monroe Doctrine from a policy of self-defense to one which envisaged the intervention of the United States in the domestic affairs of the Latin American countries.

It was natural that American penetration should be felt in the Caribbean area at an early date. For fifty years before 1904 we had been deeply interested in the possibility of a canal being built across the Isthmus of Panama. The secession of Panama from Colombia changed that possibility into a probability. But practically the whole of Latin America believed that the United States had engineered the secession. Moreover, they believed that our intervention during and after the period of the World War in Haiti, the Dominican Republic and Nicaragua was stimulated by economic imperialism. Actually the chief reason for the past intervention policy of the United States in the Caribbean area was the security of the Canal. But another reason was the fear that some other great power might intervene in one of the small Caribbean states for the protection of its nationals during a time of disorder or for the collection of their debts during a time of financial collapse. The United States believed that such an intervention would end in a threat of annexation. Today that fear no longer exists. No power would desire or dare to intervene in the Caribbean

area contrary to the wishes of the United States. The Latin American states farther removed from the Caribbean area have grown in strength, pride, self-confidence and self-reliance since the war. Moreover, they are filled with an intense spirit of nationalism. Not only would they resent interference of any kind in their affairs by a European power; they would resent equally interference by the United States. Obviously the purpose for which the Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed, the safeguarding of the Western Hemisphere from European interference, has been realized.

It is not to be expected that the United States will formally renounce the Monroe Doctrine as it recently abrogated the Platt Amendment which had virtually made of Cuba a protectorate of the United States. But the time has arrived when the Doctrine should occupy a less prominent place in our international relations. And that this is true of other aspects of the rigid attitude formerly maintained in our policy towards Latin America is made evident by the change in that attitude in recent years. We have given up the unwise non-recognition policy introduced by President Wilson which forbade our granting recognition to a Latin American country that had changed its government by revolutionary or "non-constitutional" methods. President Franklin D. Roosevelt has suggested that all nations agree not to send troops across boundaries to settle disputes. More important, the United States, by ratifying the Anti-War Treaty on Non-Aggression and Conciliation, agreed that it "will in no case resort to intervention either diplomatic or armed." Finally, the "Good Neighbor" policy, if adhered to, will probably result in the conduct of our international relations with Latin

America in the same way in which they are conducted with the countries of Europe.

RELATIONS WITH THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

We must not close this part of our subject without a word concerning the relations between the United States, the Pan American Union and the League of Nations. Every Latin American state eventually joined the League of Nations. There can be little doubt that one of the animating motives was the hope that the League would prove to be a counterpoise to the United States. In this the Latin Americans were disappointed, for since the League did not give up hope that the United States would eventually join, it had no desire to offend the United States in order to favor some small and troublous Caribbean state that had a complaint against this country.

In the beginning of the League's history the attitude of the American Government was not characterized by a spirit of friendliness and helpfulness towards it. Our Government resented any appearance on the part of the League of special interest in purely inter-American affairs. It also made plain that it would oppose any attempt to set up a regional branch of the League of Nations on the American hemisphere that might compete with the Pan American Union. But with the passage of time the United States became aware that it had much to gain through cooperation with the League. Hence the latent opposition to active interest on the part of the League in Latin American affairs gradually waned in the United States. Indeed, the activity of the League in attempting to bring the Chaco War to a close and to settle the Leticia dispute by peaceful means was welcomed by the United States.

The growing intimacy between the United States and the League of Nations has resulted in a new orientation on the part of some of the Latin American nations. All retain their deep-seated belief that the Pan American conferences are the proper place for the consideration of purely American problems, and, like the United States, they have no desire to become embroiled in purely European disputes. But, though Brazil withdrew from the League, practically all other Latin American states regard their membership in the League as a distinct asset.

VI. BUILDING THE FUTURE

SOME of the remedies for misunderstanding between Latin America and the United States have been indicated when discussing the causes, and it is not necessary to repeat them. But the chief remedy is personal contact. It is hard to understand people with whom one has never come in touch.

THE NEED OF PERSONAL CONTACTS

Today citizens of the United States and Latin Americans alike voyage to Europe to visit the monuments of the civilization which is their common cultural heritage. But it takes twice as long to travel from New York to Rio Janeiro or Lima as it does from New York to Europe, and it costs correspondingly more. Hence, though the scenery of parts of Latin America is equal to anything in Europe, and though the remains of ancient civilizations such as the Maya and Inca are deeply interesting, it cannot be expected that our tourist traffic to Latin America will soon assume anything like the dimensions of our tourist traffic to Europe.

On the other hand, commercial relations with Latin America are bound to expand even although the American tariff has had grievous repercussions in some countries. The cooperation of our citizens with Latin Americans in the economic and industrial development of the different Latin American countries will also increase. For example, financial experts from the United States have been invited to some Latin American countries and have rendered real assistance in their financial rehabilitation. All such economic cooperation, if freed from unfavorable political association, ought to help in developing mutual good will. And of even greater importance from the standpoint of developing real appreciation is the work of such organizations as the Rockefeller Foundation to which no motive of gain can be attributed.

What is needed, however, in the development of better understanding with our neighbors in Latin America is not primarily increased economic relations but wider and deeper cultural relations. The more that students and teachers from the Latin American countries study and teach in our institutions of education and the more they become familiar with the great strides we have made in music, literature and art, and the gentler aspects of life generally, the more will they remove the misconception existing among many in Latin America that our civilization is but a brutal materialism devoid of the finer elements of life. And the more that American students and teachers visit the countries of Latin America and become aware of the vigorous and progressive civilizations that are developing down there, the more will they help to destroy the attitude of disdain and superiority which so many Americans have held in the past.

This is equally true of publicists, journalists, men of affairs and professional men.

In 1930 there were more than 10,000 foreign students in the institutions of higher education in the United States, of which number more than 1,000 were from Latin American countries. Many of these students, however, come badly equipped in English and, because of difference in preparation, they are not qualified to enter at once upon the courses they expect to follow. Moreover, many of them congregate in the institutions in the larger cities, live together and often return home as unacquainted with American life as when they arrived. It is, therefore, gratifying to know not only that our best colleges and universities have appointed faculty committees to facilitate the orientation of foreign students but also that agencies have been established in foreign countries, including some in Latin America, to cooperate with similar agencies in the United States in this admirable work.

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN INFLUENCES

There is now going on in South America a struggle between influences founded upon two different civilizations and cultures, those of France and those of the United States. It is not a voluntary, deliberate contest, but an unavoidable one resulting from the nature of things. Our language and our attitude towards life follow in the wake of our business, our movies, our newspapers. In a few of the South American countries English has already supplanted French as the required foreign language in the secondary school. Repeatedly in the home of a cultured family the father would state that he, his wife and his elder children had been edu-

cated in France but that he was sending his younger children to universities in the United States. "The immediate future is yours," he would say; "the more distant future is ours. We must learn what has made you strong and great." This does not by any means indicate that no Latin American students are going to French universities. But the number is small compared to the more than a thousand Latin American students that studied in American colleges and universities in 1930. Moreover, this diffusion of American ideas and methods is not the result of propaganda of any kind. In the chief cultural centers of Latin America are to be found Sorbonne professors who make annual visits to deliver lectures on various aspects of French civilization, usually upon invitation of the local university. This is seldom true of American professors.

French cultural influence will probably always be strong in Latin America. But the future there as everywhere belongs to youth, and now, when it seeks education abroad, Latin American youth is turning by preference to the United States. Latin Americans of the younger generation regard the United States today as the most wealthy, most powerful and most influential nation on earth. They recognize, also, that to a great extent it will set the standard and pace of social evolution in the next generation.

The opportunity to select from among so many the fine, earnest, mature students who because of economic considerations could come here only upon fellowships, must appeal to our universities, foundations and educational organizations. It is the smaller number of selected students that counts. Everywhere are to be found returned graduate students teaching in the institutions of

Latin America, enthusiastic over their studies in American institutions and strong adherents of better understanding with the people of the United States. This is equally true of the few professors and scholars who have lectured in our universities.

As yet few in the upper reaches of Latin American society speak English fluently. But that situation will soon be changed, for already one can listen to remarkable lessons in English and English literature when visiting schools and universities in the more progressive Latin American countries. On the other hand, few of our own distinguished scholars and men of affairs can speak Spanish, Portuguese or French sufficiently fluently to deliver lectures or addresses in any of those languages. As it is, they are welcome in the Latin American countries. But they would have greatly increased influence were they to speak one of those languages. This weakness has already been remedied to a great extent by our leading industrialists and financiers who have business relations with Latin America. Many of them can address Chambers of Commerce in Latin American countries and give interviews to newspaper reporters in the language of the country they are visiting.

THE NEED OF CULTURAL CONTACTS

Next to personal contact, the method by which one people learns to know and understand another is by reading its literature. Yet American literature is practically unknown in Latin America. In most bookstores one will find no American books and in others only a few, such as Sinclair Lewis' *Main Street* and *Babbitt*; Upton Sinclair's *The Brass Check* and Ben Lindsey's *Revolt of Youth*. This is not only true of literature generally but

also of books in fields of great interest to Latin Americans in which our scholars have made real contributions, such as economics, sociology and education. For technical books in medicine and engineering, scholars send to the United States when they can afford to do so, but students can seldom do this in any field because of the high cost of American books. The French send the best of their works in literature and in all fields of study in cheap paper-bound editions which have large sales. The publishers in the United States insist that the size of the market in Latin America would not justify a separate paper edition of an American book; but with vision and good sales methods might not the market be created?

Though more than two million students in American high schools and colleges in the United States study Spanish, some of whom carry their interest to the stage of studying Spanish literature, it is a question whether more than a few of these students take up the fine literature that has developed in Latin American countries. Most have never heard of the poetry of Gabriela Mistral, or Rubén Darío, and they are equally ignorant of the prose of José Enrique Rodó and Rufino Blanco Fombona. And as we are a nonlinguistic people, the literature of the Latin American countries will remain unknown to us unless it is translated, and that adds to the difficulty of the problem.

What has been said about the wisdom of arranging for exchanges of books and their authors applies equally well to the fields of art and music. In both, remarkable work has been done in the United States and Latin America. But the people of one region remain practically ignorant of the accomplishment of the people in the other, though Americans have recently become deeply

interested in the native Mexican art that has been displayed in our great cities.

Since procuring its independence the United States has developed a new civilization which, as Europe has learned in recent years, is not a provincial imitation of English civilization, although based upon it. The same thing is true of the countries of Latin America since they became independent of Spain and Portugal. The prophecies of Spengler and Keyserling as to the downfall of Western civilization probably apply nowhere, not even to Europe; they certainly do not apply to the Western Hemisphere. Europe may be old, tired and pessimistic: the Americas are young, virile and optimistic; theirs is a new land with remarkable natural resources to be developed and great empty spaces to be filled. Despite differences in race and civilization, the people of the United States have much in common with those of the Latin American countries. Some thinkers in both continents believe in the possibility of the development of a new civilization with Latin elements contributed by Latin American nations and Anglo-American elements contributed by the United States, founded upon the civilization inherited from Europe but different from it. The realization of such a possibility is probably distant. But in the meantime, the people of the United States and of the Latin American countries can learn to know and understand one another better, to respect and admire the culture and civilization of one another more fully, and to cooperate in enterprises for the improvement of themselves and of humanity.

AREA, POPULATION AND TRADE OF LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES

Country	<i>Area in Square Miles</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Total Trade, 1934 (in U.S. Old Gold \$)¹</i>	<i>Percentage of World Trade¹</i>
Argentina	1,153,417	12,030,000	510,000,000	2.18
Bolivia	613,899	3,000,000	15,000,000	0.08
Brazil	3,276,358	44,900,000	296,000,000	1.27
Chile	290,160	4,433,000	86,000,000	0.37
Colombia	495,522	9,016,000	82,000,000	0.36
Costa Rica	23,005	552,000	14,000,000	0.06
Cuba	44,218	4,075,000	95,000,000	0.41
Dominican Republic	19,332	1,300,000	14,000,000	0.06
Ecuador	118,627	2,000,000	13,000,000	0.04
Guatemala	42,364	2,234,000	14,000,000	0.06
Haiti	10,207	2,600,000	12,000,000	0.05
Honduras	46,262	920,000	19,000,000	0.08
Mexico	767,258	17,600,000	159,000,000	0.68
Nicaragua	49,213	800,000	7,000,000	0.03
Panama	32,388	484,000	11,000,000	0.04
Paraguay	97,722	900,000	10,000,000	0.04
Peru	566,912	6,700,000	65,000,000	0.28
Salvador	13,176	1,574,000	10,000,000	0.04
Uruguay	72,172	1,993,000	60,000,000	0.26
Venezuela	393,977	3,300,000	118,000,000	0.50

EXTENT OF LATIN AMERICAN TRADE ¹

	<i>Year</i>	IMPORTS		EXPORTS	
		<i>Total (in U.S. Old Gold \$)</i>	<i>% from U.S.</i>	<i>Total (in U.S. Old Gold \$)</i>	<i>% to U.S.</i>
Argentina	1934	222,000,000	14.8	288,400,000	5.4
Bolivia	1932	4,700,000	24.1	10,400,000	3.6
Brazil	1934	124,000,000	23.7	172,500,000	39.5
Chile	1934	25,100,000	28.8	61,100,000	29.0
Colombia	1934	31,800,000	43.9	49,600,000	65.6
Costa Rica	1933	5,100,000	47.7	8,700,000	34.6
Cuba	1934	45,000,000	56.2	50,000,000	75.3
Dominican Republic	1934	7,100,000	56.9	7,300,000	20.3
Ecuador	1932	4,300,000	58.1	8,700,000	45.3
Guatemala	1933	6,100,000	51.0	7,500,000	34.3
Haiti	1934	5,600,000	48.4	6,300,000	8.8
Honduras	1934	5,700,000	70.2	12,900,000	71.7
Mexico	1934	54,900,000	60.7	104,400,000	51.8
Nicaragua	1934	3,000,000	58.8	3,800,000	49.7
Panama	1932	8,900,000	61.1	2,000,000	95.8
Paraguay	1934	4,400,000	3.5	5,400,000	1.1
Peru	1934	23,000,000	26.9	42,500,000	14.2
Salvador	1932	4,900,000	49.2	5,500,000	17.3
Uruguay	1934	30,800,000	14.9	29,600,000	10.4
Venezuela	1934	19,000,000	45.1	99,000,000	16.0

¹ Data from League of Nations, *Statistical Yearbook, 1934-35, International Trade Statistics, 1934*, and *Review of World Trade, 1934*.

PRINCIPAL EXPORTS OF LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES

In Percentages of the Total Exports of Each Country¹

	Coffee	Bananas	Wheat or Flour	Meat	Corn	Linseed	Tin	Cotton	Nitrates	Copper	Petroleum	Gold and Silver	Sugar	Cocoa	Ores	Tobacco	Wool
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Argentina.....			21.3	13.8	21.0	11.9	79.8			1.6		6.2					7.3
Bolivia.....															5.5		
Brazil.....	60.8							13.2									
Chile.....									28.3	37.3							
Colombia.....	54.3										18.5	18.5					
Costa Rica.....	74.7	18.6															
Cuba.....													68.2			8.6	
Dominican Republic.....	13.0												52.4	13.5		3.9	
Ecuador.....	16.3										29.4		3.4	22.9	13.8		
Guatemala.....	61.5	29.8										1.7					
Haiti.....	70.7							13.3					4.8				
Honduras.....	2.7	78.4															
Mexico.....	4.3	1.3								4.4	21.0				15.2		
Nicaragua.....	32.6	49.3											1.5				
Panama.....		86.2												4.2			
Paraguay ²				23.6													5.5
Peru.....								23.7		9.1	37.0	5.0	13.2				
Salvador.....	92.2																
Uruguay.....				26.3													
Venezuela.....	5.4										89.6			1.5			37.8

¹ Data from League of Nations, *International Trade Statistics, 1934*. With few exceptions, the percentages are for the calendar year 1934.

² Quebracho extract used for tanning, which is a unique product of Paraguay, constitutes 25.8% of its total exports.

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